Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 06283 291504Z

43
ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 DODE-00 SS-20 NSC-10 ACDA-19 OMB-01 IO-14

DRC-01 /146 W
---------- 119024
R 291415Z DEC 73
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3428
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3607
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION EC BRUSSLES

S E C R E T USNATO 6283

E.O. 11652: GDS, 12-31-81
TAGS: PFOR, NATO
SUBJECT: ASSESSMENT OF NATO'S OCTOBER-DECEMBER QUARTER

REF: STOESSEL TO RUMSFELD LETTER OF DECEMBER 4, 1973

1. NATO'S FINAL QUARTER OPENED WITH ONE OF THE MOST DIVISIVE
EVENTS OIN THE ALLIANCE'S QUARTER-CENTURY HISTORY-- THE OCTOBER
MIDDLE EAST WAR. IN ADDITION TO ITS FULL PLATTER OF SPECIFIC
PROBLEMS--RECRIMINATIONS OVER CONSULTATIONS, THE UNANNOUNCED U.S.
TROOP ALERT--THE MIDDLE EAST WAR SEEMED TO SOME TO CONFIRM
THEIR SUSPICIONS THAT A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE HAD OCCURRED IN THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATED STATES AND THE NATIONS OF
WESTERN EUROPE. BROADLY, THESE SUSPICIONS RELATED TO THE DEVELOPMENT
OF WHAT LOOKED
INCREASINGLY LIKE AN ADVERSARY RELATIONSHIP
WITH THE ALLIANCE, AS THE NINE--FREQUENTLY UNDER FRENCH PERSUASION
OR PETULANCE-- MOVED TOWARD LOSER CONSULTATION AT LEAST SUPERFIALLY.
TO ME THE EUROPEANS HAVE VOICED SUSPICIOUS OF PRECEIVED U.S. TENDENCI
ES
SECRET

PAGE 02 NATO 06283 291504Z

TO GO IT ALONE OR IN TANDEM WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AND UNCERTAIN
ABOUT WHERE THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE FITTED INTO THE UNITED STATES'
PROJECTION OF MULTIPOLARITY. AMONG THE MORE HOPEFUL, THE SOMEWHAT
WISTFUL VIEW WAS EXPRESSED, NOT YET CONVINCINGLY, THAT THE
ALLIANCE MIGHT YET GAIN NEW STRENGTH FROM THE FRICTIONS.

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

2. WITH TIME AND EFFORT, CHARACTERIZED BY SECRETARY KISSINGER'S
BRIEFING OF NATO AMBASSADORS IN WASHINGTON, THE CALMING NPG, AND
BY SISCO'S BRIEFING OF THE COUNCIL, THE QUARTER'S CHAOTIC BE-
GINNING YIELDED TO A CALMER AND MORE REASONED ATMOSPHERE AS
PREPARATIONS GOT UNDERWAY FOR THE DECEMBER MINISTERIAL.

3. EXTENSIVE COUNCIL DISCUSSIONS IN NOVEMBER AND EARLY DECEMBER
ON THE DRAFT ATLANTIC DELCARATION ALSO HELPED CLEAR THE AIR.
THESE PERMINTED SERIOUS THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION, ESPECIALLY AFTER
THE U.S. REVISIONS WERE SUBMITTED AND SOME US LEADERSHIP PROVIDED,
ABOUT THOSE PRINCIPLES WHICH ARE AT THE HEART OF THE ALLIANCE.
THE U.S. WILLINGNESS TO REASSERT THROUGH ITS REVISIONS ITS SUPPORT
FOR
AN INDIVISIBLE, NOT A "BIPOLAR"ALLIANCE, HELPED SOMEWHAT TO DISPEL
CONCERNS THAT THE U.S. MIGHT INDEED VIEW EUROPE AN "OBJECT OF POLICY"
AS THE FRENCH HAVE SUGGESTED.

4. THE DECEMBER MINISTERIAL MEETING WENT SOME FURTHER WAY TOWARD
DEMONSTRATING THAT WHILE THE SITUATION IN THE ALLIANCE IS SERIOUS,
IT MIGHT NOT BE QUITE AS DESPERATE AS SOME HAD FEARED. THE SECRETARY'S

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROBLEMS WHICH HE SAW TROUBLING THE ATLANTIC
RELATIONSHIP WAS ACCEPTED AS A FORTHRIGHT STATEMENT OF THE U.S.
POSITION, ALTOUGH SOME THOUGHT IT REFLECTED LESS THAN FULLTOLLERANCE
FOR EUROPE'S OBVIOUS GROWING PAINS. THE SECRETARY'S RESTATEMENT OF
U.S.
FAITH IN THE ALLIANCE AND HIS APPEAL FOR GENERAL ALLIANCE
RENEWAL STRUCK A RESPONSIVE CHORD, WHILE HIS EXCHANGE WITH JOBERT OVER

THE U.S.-SOVIET AGREEMENT OF JUNE 22 DEMONSTRATED THAT HE WAS
WILLING TO "TAKE ON" HIS FRENCH COUNTERPART--A SUBJECT OF CONSIDERABLE

DOUBT AMONG EUROPEANS IN THE PAST.

5. IN SHORT, THE DECEMBER MINISTERIAL TENDED TO PLACE THE ALLIANCE'S
SECRET

DIFFICULTIES IN BETTER PERSPECTIVE AND TO SUGGEST THAT ITS PROBLEMS
WERE NOT INSUPERABLE. DOUBTS REMAIN, BUT, TO THE EXTENT THAT THE
U.S. ALONE CAN DISPEL THEM, A HEALTHIER ALLIANCE MAY YET EMERGE
FROM THE VIBRATION OF 1973 IF THE NITED STATES ACTS AS THOUGH IT
BELIEVES WHAT IT KEEPS SAYING, NAMELY THAT THE ALLIANCE IS THE CORNER-

STONE OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. FOLLOWING ARE TOW ILLUSTRATIVE
EXAMPLES:

--THE U.S., INDEED ALL THE ALLIANCE, HAVE TO PERFOM
BETTER IN THE AREA OF ALLIANCE CONSULATIONS. WHILE DISCUSSION
IN ADVANCE OF ACTION IS NOT AN END IN ITSELF, IT DOWS OFFER THE
OPPORTUNITY TO GAIN SUPPORT FOR POLICIES AND TO CUSHION CONLIDING
INTERESTS. CONSULTATIONS ARE PERHAPS EVEN MORE USEFUL WHERE BASIC

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

DIFFERENCES EXIST, AS IN THE CASE OF THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS.
WE MUST ACCORDINGLY BE PREPARED FOR TIMELY CONSULTATIONS ON THE
MIDDLE EAST. OUR RECORD IN THIS AREA WILL CLEARLY BE A TEST
FOR MATCHING PERFOMANCE TO PROMISIES.

--THE UNITED STATES WILL ALSO WANT TO RETAIN THE DEGREE
OF INITIATIVE ON THE ATLANTIC DECLARATION WHICH OUR TEXTUAL
SUBMISSIONS AND THE SECRETARY'S APPEAL AT THE MINISTERIAL HELPED
TO RESTORE. WE WILL, FOR EXAMPLE, VERY SOON BE QUERIED
ON SUCH SPECIFICS AS OUR VIEWS ON TIMING, PLACE AND LEVEL OF
PARTICIPANTS AT A SIGNING CERMONY, AND ON THE PLACE OF JAPAN
AND SUCH COUNTRIES AS SPAIN IN THE DECLARATION.

6. ALLIANCE CONSULTATION AND THE MANAGEMENT OF THE ATLANTIC
DECLARATION ARE ONLY SAMPLES OF THE ACTIVE EFFORT WE MUST MAKE
IN ORDER TO ANSWER THOSE OPEN QUESTIONS WHICH WERE PARTIALLY
BUT ONLY TEMPORARILY PUT TO REST AT THE DECEMBER MINISTERIAL:

--IS THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE REALY AT THE CENTER OF U.S.
FOREIGN POLICY. DOES IT COME AHEAD OF POSSIBLE ARRANGEMENTS WITH
THE SOVIET UNION?

--IS THE UNITED STATES WILLING TO TAKE THE LEAD IN DEMON-
STRATING THAT RENEWAL OF THE ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP IS A BETTER
PRESCRIPTION FOR EUROPE'S FUTURE THAN THE NARROW CONFINES OF
GUALLISM?

SECRET

--IS THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO THE ALLIANCE SUFFICIENT TO
MOBILIZE THE NECESSARY DOMESTIC SUPPORT FOR THE LONG HAUL IN
SUCH AREAS, FOR EXAMPLE, AS THE MAINTENANCE OF U.S. GROUND FORCES
IN EUROPE?

--AND IS THE UNITED STATES WILLING TO PROVIDE THE LEADERSHIP
AND STEADINESS OF PURPOSE NECESSARY TO MAKE THE ALLIANCE A VITAL
FACTOR TO FUTURE GENERATIONS OF AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS?
RUMSFELD

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 02 APR 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 DEC 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: willialc
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973NATO06283
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS, 12-31-81
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731255/abqceebc.tel
Line Count: 151
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: STOESSEL TO RUMSFELD LETTER OF DECEMBER 4, 1973
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: willialc
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24-Aug-2001 by elyme>; APPROVED <16-Oct-2001 by willialc>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ASSESSMENT OF NATO'S OCTOBER-DECEMBER QUARTER
TAGS: PFOR, NATO
To: STATE INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
MOSCOW
EC BRUSSLES
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005